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the diplomatic representatives at Washington of Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile and Mexico. (2) A committee to prepare the preliminary regulations of the Conference. On this committee have been placed the representatives of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Haiti, Nicaragua and Peru. (3) A committee to propose to the Conference a plan for the reorganization of the Bureau of the American Republics as a permanent institution. This committee is composed of the representatives of Guatemala, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela. Mr. Root named no representative of the United States on any of the committees, thus manifesting his intention to avoid all appearance of anything like domination on the part of the United States.

It will be noticed that this third Pan-American Congress is to follow the second one, held at Mexico City in 1901-02, after an interval of less than five years, whereas it was twelve years between the first and second Conferences. The Mexican Conference left many questions unfinished, and several of the conclusions reached have been only partially carried out. This probably accounts in part for the fact that another conference has been felt to be necessary so early; but there is a deeper and more significant reason. The calling of this third conference within less than five years since the last one illustrates the extraordinary rapidity with which international problems are to-day developing and demanding united attention on the part of the various sections of the world. The second Hague Conference, which is expected to meet this year, though the date has not yet been announced, is, though on a greater scale, not more significant in this direction than this approaching meeting of representatives of all the American States in South America. They are but different expressions of the same movement which is rapidly drawing the whole world into its powerful current.

It is not improbable that the Rio Janeiro meeting may result in the organization of the Pan-American Conference as a permanent institution, which will hereafter meet automatically at regular intervals of about five years. The programme of the meeting anticipates the reorganization of the Bureau of the American Republics on a permanent basis. This will almost certainly require for its effectual carrying out the giving to the Conference itself a permanent character. A permanent International American Conference, with an administrative bureau such as is proposed, would be a great step toward the elucidation, development and consolidation of the numerous mutual interests of the nations of the Western world. Such an American federation would not in the least interfere with the wider world-federation, which in some form will receive serious consideration at the approaching Hague Conference. On the contrary, it would serve as a striking model therefor, and would

powerfully stimulate the operation of the forces which are working steadily and effectively toward that great end.

The Moroccan Conference.

The consideration of chief interest in connection with the Conference in session at Algeciras, Spain, since the 16th of January, is that there is to be no war between France and Germany over their respective claims touching Morocco. There has been some silly talk of war in a certain section of the press, and there was a good deal of excitement and some solicitude at the time of the German Emperor's visit to the Sultan of Morocco in March last. But when an agreement had been reached to hold an international conference over the matter all danger of war at once disappeared. In these days war is scarcely conceivable over any ordinary, or even extraordinary, question, when a considerable body of the nations have agreed to meet in conference and attempt to find a joint pacific solution of the difficulty. Fifty, or even thirty, years ago the visit of Emperor William to Tangier would have resulted in hostilities within a month. But the times have changed, and the world, bad as it still is, has made great progress in good feeling and good sense.

The chief points in the history of the difficulty are these: In 1903 and 1904, because of unsettled conditions in Morocco, which affected more or less French control of Algeria, France made certain aggressions upon Morocco. To these Great Britain objected. In April, 1904, Great Britain and France concluded their now famous agreement for the settlement of all their outstanding differences. In this agreement France was allowed a free hand in reforms in Morocco, in consideration of her withdrawal of her objections to Great Britain's remaining in Egypt.

The result of this Anglo-French arrangement was that France was gradually acquiring control over the Moroccan government. She had already obtained possession of the custom houses, and was proceeding to take the army in charge. This aroused the Emperor of Germany, and led to his famous visit of March last. He is reported to have said in his interview with the Sultan at Tangier that Germany would not allow any power to interfere with her equality of economic and commercial rights in Morocco; that she would carry on her affairs with the Sultan direct, as a free sovereign, and not through any intermediary.

Upon learning of this interview the French Foreign Minister, Mr. Delcassé, declared that France's policy in Morocco would continue as before, and that she did not pretend to base her interests on disregard of the interests of others. All nations had an equal footing. But the

condition of the Algerian frontier made it necessary to put an end to the existing anarchy, and resistance of parties interested in maintaining the existing conditions would not modify their policy.

Two weeks later Germany sent a note to the powers suggesting an international conference on invitation of the Sultan of Morocco. This suggestion was based on Germany's claim that under Article 17 of the Treaty of Madrid (July 3, 1880), Morocco recognized the most favored nation principle, and that therefore the nations had equal rights to consider Moroccan affairs. This interpretation was not acceptable to France, as the cited article of the treaty of 1880 had, in the view of the French government, to do only with the lives and property of foreigners residing in Morocco.

Rather than increase the risk of a serious rupture with Germany, Mr. Delcassé left the Cabinet, and was succeeded by Rouvier. An answer to the German proposal of a conference was not made by France until dispatches from London had assured the French government that Great Britain would raise no objections. On the 10th of July the agreement for a conference was published. The agreement is based upon recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the Sultan of Morocco, the integrity of his kingdom, economic freedom, the necessity of political and financial reforms, and the acknowledgment that France has special interest in having order preserved in Morocco.

The French and German legations were then recalled from Tangier, and the Sultan jointly advised to prepare a program for the Conference in accordance with the principles agreed upon by Premier Rouvier and the German ambassador, Radolin. The program was completed on the 30th of September, and Algeciras, Spain, chosen as the place of meeting. The questions to be considered, as agreed upon by France and Germany, are: (1) organization, by international accord, of the police, except on the Algerian frontier; (2) surveillance and repression of contraband arms, except along the Algerian frontier; (3) financial reforms, including the creation of a state bank with the privilege of issuing currency; (4) study of the customs and new means of raising revenues.

Fourteen powers are represented in the Conference, with two delegates each: Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, Portugal, The Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Morocco, and the United States,—seven great powers, that is, and seven which are not so great, in some ways. The two American delegates to the Conference are Mr. White, our present ambassador to Italy, and Mr. Gummeré, our Minister at Tangier.

President Roosevelt's acceptance of the invitation of

the Sultan of Morocco to send delegates to the Conference has been sharply criticised by some in this country, in Washington and elsewhere, and as warmly approved by others. The Senate, after a warm discussion, has by a party vote declined to condemn the President's course. It is understood that the United States delegates have gone to Algeciras uninstructed, except that they are to take part only in the commercial work of the Conference, not in the political, and that they are to exert their influence above all toward a peaceful issue of the deliberations. Such an issue, if their presence were really necessary to effect it, would furnish some real justification of their mission. But it is probable that the thirteen European powers, after the correspondence between France and Germany and the basis of conference agreed upon by them, would have been just as able to find a peaceful solution without our delegates as with them. The great danger of our participation, since the work of the Conference will be almost entirely political, is that our government may become inextricably involved in the political broils of Europe, from which from the very beginning we have so wisely kept free, and in which we ought not to allow any temptation to induce us to involve ourselves.

There is, in the abstract, the Monroe doctrine to the contrary notwithstanding, not the least reason why the United States should not take part in any international conference anywhere, called for humanitarian and commercial ends. Delegates have gone from Washington to many such conferences. In these matters our country is interested everywhere, and has duties as well. It is to be hoped, now that our delegates are in the Moroccan Conference, that they may be able to steer clear of political "entanglements," and that their presence and influence may contribute materially not only toward the freedom of trade in Morocco for all nations, but also toward the maintenance of the independence of the country, which has been in peril of being wiped out under the besom of the European colonizing powers.

Franklin's Views of War and Peace.

But little is commonly known of Benjamin Franklin's views on peace and war. He was the author of one of the three most frequently quoted peace apothegms of the United States. Sherman said, "War is hell"; Grant, "Let us have peace"; Franklin, "There never was a good war or a bad peace." Notwithstanding this fact, and the further fact that his letters reveal him to have been a man with whom love of peace and dislike of war were fundamental and guiding characteristics, yet in the articles which have been written and the speeches delivered in celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of his birth, almost no reference has been made